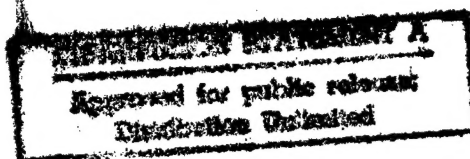


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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1257

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INTERNATIONAL

'ZERO OPTION' DOES NOT ASSURE 'EQUAL SECURITY' FOR USSR, WEST

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Apr 82 p 13

[Article by Lev Semeyko, candidate of military sciences: "Europe under the Gun"]

[Text] U.S. forward based nuclear weapons are a threat to the security of the European continent.

According to calculations by scientists, there is one nuclear war-head equal in power to the one dropped on Hiroshima for every 50 American soldiers in Western Europe. This ratio is backed up by more than 700 American aircraft carrying nuclear weapons. And tomorrow some 600 Pershing-2 and Tomahawk missiles may be added to them.

American "forward based weapons" -- this is one of the most topical military-political terms in use today. This is not accidental. It is a term that was highly technical until very recently, and thus known to very few people. But now it has entered the political vocabulary to such an extent that you cannot get by without it when discussing the bitter struggle over issues of the arms race and disarmament, relations between the USSR and the United States, and East-West relations in general.

We are referring, first of all, to weapons that represent, so to speak, the advance outpost of American nuclear power. Therefore the term is related to the term "forward basing."

In the second place, we refer primarily to forward based U.S. weapons that are deployed in Europe.

Thirdly, we mean nuclear weapons which have what is called medium range, from 1,000 kilometers to the line that separates them from intercontinental range (5,500 kilometers). These are the weapons that today have become the key element of the difficult problems of restricting and reducing medium-range nuclear weapons on the European continent.

Composition and Combat Potential

What are the forward based nuclear weapons? They are more than 700 American aircraft of different classes: F-111's based in England, Phantom fighter-bombers

-- the F-4's that are mainly concentrated at West German airfields, and FB-111 bombers located at airfields in the United States but capable of crossing the ocean in a matter of hours and, if necessary, being used immediately for strikes in Europe.

U.S. carrier-based aviation included in the forward based forces comprises A-6 and A-7 planes. They take off from aircraft carriers and fly back and forth constantly over the seas and oceans adjacent to Europe. We should note that the contemporary aircraft carrier is capable of covering the enormous distance of 1,200-1,300 kilometers in a day. Therefore, the U.S. carriers located in the Atlantic are especially significant. As the saying goes, they can be here today, and there tomorrow.

The medium-range nuclear weapons carriers that the United States has in Europe and the waters surrounding it are a serious threat to the Soviet Union. According to calculations by Western specialists, these weapons alone could destroy up to 20 percent of USSR industry and population. A significant proportion of these weapons are kept in a state of heightened readiness. The complement of aircraft in U.S. forward based European forces can be tripled in two weeks in case of an emergency.

Finally, when analyzing the American nuclear threat to Europe we cannot fail to take account of U.S. submarines with Poseidon missiles, which are at the disposal of the NATO command. They carry several hundred nuclear warheads. Two such ships are capable of destroying more than 200 major targets in the USSR.

The Geostrategic Disproportion

That is the reality. That is the traditional American approach to the nuclear standoff, aimed at establishing unilaterally an advantageous strategic position for the United States. After all, the Soviet Union does not have anything similar. It has no forward based forces near American territory at all.

It is worth recalling here that not long ago (and even today) there was much talk about the danger that would hang over America if Soviet nuclear weapons were deployed near or adjacent to that country.

During the period of discussion of the SALT-II treaty the enemies of the treaty's ratification mounted a loud campaign in the U.S. Senate about the mythical Soviet military presence in Cuba. The possibility of deployment of Soviet Backfire bombers in Cuba was injected into this campaign. W. Rostow, current director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, asked pathetically in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee at this time, "How can we not consider this bomber in the treaty when you realize, for example, what enormous harm 30, 60 or 90 Backfires operating from bases in Cuba could do to the United States?"

A few dozen Soviet planes near American territory -- you see, that would be a "deadly threat." But there are more than 700 aircraft that can carry nuclear weapons near Soviet territory, and they are capable of reaching the most important targets. This is a prohibited subject, not appropriate for discussion at the negotiating table.

The nub of the problem, not only for the USSR but for all Europe, is the future "Euromissiles" and present U.S. aircraft, which can strike Soviet territory from the north, west, and south. How they are intertwined within the framework of the threat to European security is obvious. The Pershing-2's and Tomahawks will almost double the current contingent of forward based weapons. But the main difference is in quality: the future forward based weapons would be the means for an American first strike with nuclear weapons, covering a significant part of the western regions of the USSR. It is the "Euromissiles," people there believe, that will turn this dream into a reality, if the clouds of war thicken over Europe. But this dream cannot come true. The USSR will not stand idle in the face of such a prospect.

The Balance of Forces and the 'Zero Option'

The present figures are 975 Soviet medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe and 986 for NATO. This is clearly a balance of forces.

The positions of the USSR and the United States at the Geneva talks differ. The Soviet Union favors a reduction in the nuclear arsenals which would conform to the principle of equality and equal security. The United States is striving for unilateral disarmament of the USSR in order to gain military superiority -- not only in the "Eurostrategic" area, but also in the broader strategic domain.

The "zero option" proposed by Reagan completely excludes American forward based weapons from the reduction plan. It contemplates the removal of all Soviet medium-range missiles. How about the United States? It would merely renounce its plans to deploy "Euromissiles." But if the USSR does not accept the "zero option," the option that envisions the NATO "double decision" will go into effect. The United States will begin deploying in Europe more of those same missiles, Pershing-2's and Tomahawks. This is the essence of the American position.

What would happen if these American "options" were carried out? Here is a table which shows.

Ratio of Medium-Range Nuclear Weapons in Europe (USSR:NATO)

	Carriers (Missiles and Bombers)	Nuclear Warheads
At the present time	1:1	1:1.5
According to the NATO "Double Desision"	1:1.5	1:2
According to Reagan's "Zero Option"	1:2	1:3

In any case the United States intends to break the present balance of forces in Europe. Under the "zero option" American forward based weapons in Europe by themselves would exceed Soviet medium-range weapons, but then there are still the English and French weapons. And this "option" is being presented as implementing the principle of equality! As a "zero" option! In other words it would supposedly completely eliminate medium-range missiles, at a time when

England and France would still have 162 of them in their arsenal. What kind of words can we use to describe this approach!

The American assertions that "complete elimination" of USSR and NATO medium-range missiles only (and in fact only the USSR ones) would strengthen international security are nothing more than a fiction that could only fool the gullible. They are playing on the belief of millions of people that if there are fewer nuclear missiles, the danger of universal destruction will be more remote. Indeed, the danger would be reduced, but only on one condition -- if the elimination of weapons did not at the same time destroy the established military-strategic balance. But Reagan's "zero option" undermines this balance and, therefore, threatens the security of Europe and more.

Eliminate the Threat

The Soviet Union has proposed a path to a nonnuclear Europe. Eliminate the medium-range nuclear weapons now located in the western and eastern parts of the continent, and then also eliminate all the tactical nuclear weapons of the two blocs in this region. This is the Soviet program to cut back nuclear arms in Europe. But if the West is not ready for such a radical (and truly a "zero") decision, the USSR proposes agreeing on reductions of medium-range nuclear weapons by the two sides in stages. Needless to say, this must be done so as to preserve the balance of forces in each stage. It would aim at a level of up to 300 units on each side by the end of 1990. The parties themselves could determine which weapons to eliminate. According to the Soviet position, during negotiations the parties would refrain from deploying new medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. In other words, it would be a bilateral moratorium. In this case the USSR would even be ready to carry out a certain unilateral reduction in the number of its medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe.

At the 17th Congress of Trade Unions L. I. Brezhnev laid out the new Soviet initiatives. The Soviet Union declared a unilateral moratorium by halting the replacement of old medium-range missiles with new ones. The moratorium will continue in effect only until conclusion of a Soviet-American agreement in the Geneva talks or until such time as the United States, disregarding the security of the people, begins practical preparations for deployment of "Euromissiles." Moreover, if there is no new worsening of the international situation, the USSR intends this year to cut back a certain number of medium-range missiles on its own initiative.

In the United States they have done everything possible to distort the sense and meaning of the Soviet initiatives. Reagan stated that the unilateral Soviet moratorium is "simply not good enough because it doesn't go far enough." But really, how much farther can it go? Perhaps the USSR should implement the "zero option" unilaterally?!

Some in the United States have directed their primary attention not to the above-described Soviet steps toward attaining reasonable agreement, but rather to the Soviet warning of possible countermeasures if the United States and NATO deploy hundred of new American missiles in Europe. In the United States today they are guessing what this might mean. But it would be better if they would

focus their attention on the search for solutions to the crucial problems now under consideration. Time does not stand still. Now as never before it is important to make a constructive analysis of the Soviet proposals and find other possible ways to achieve a major cutback in medium-range nuclear weapons already deployed in Europe and to prevent new rounds in the arms race. Of course, this can only be done on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security. There is no other way.

11,176

CSO: 1807/81

NATIONAL

JUSTICE MINISTER DISCUSSES SOVIET PEOPLE'S COURT

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 19 Feb 82 pp 1-4

[Article by Terebilov, minister of justice of the USSR]

[Text] Close on ten thousand people's judges are to be elected in all the constituent Republics of the Union on June 20, 1982.

People's courts, at district (city) level, are the fundamental element of the Soviet legal system. They hear almost all criminal and civil cases in first instance. Only a minor proportion of the most involved cases are heard straight at regional courts or in the Supreme Courts of the Autonomous and Union Republics.

The hearing of any case in a people's court is collective, that is, by a people's judge and two people's assessors who have absolutely equal rights and decide all issues by free vote. The equality of people's judges and people's assessors is one of the important democratic principles of our legal system.

The people's courts administer justice independently of anybody and have nothing but the law to obey. All interference in court rulings by officials, government or public bodies is impermissible, as unequivocally stated in the Constitution of the USSR.

Who may be elected a people's judge? The law lays down the only condition-- a prospective judge must have reached the age of 25 by polling day.

Must a nominee have legal training by all means? No, he must not, but actual experience indicates that while electing judges, citizens, as a rule, give preference to the individuals having higher legal education.

In reviewing the performance of the judges elected in the previous elections, one can say with satisfaction that in their overwhelming majority they have proved worthy of the trust reposed in them. Prompt and efficient handling of cases is the major criterion by which to judge the performance of the courts. In the intervening years, the number of sentences of the people's courts quashed or amended dropped almost by half, coming down to about three percent of the total in 1981. Case hearings in the people's courts have been somewhat expedited. In 1981, for example about 94 percent of criminal cases and some 92 civil cases were dealt with in under one month.

The judge, as stated earlier on, has nothing but the law to obey. But he may be disciplined for a neglect of duty by a special board of judges. If the neglect entailed grave consequences, the electors may ask for such a judge to be recalled.

Sometimes readers ask aren't the people's courts quite often too lenient in passing their sentences? I think this question is due to a misunderstanding. Generally, as a relevant survey indicates, the measures of punishment meted out by people's courts are correct. But, unfortunately, some--I emphasize--some judges still make mistakes, even outright blunders sometimes, by meting out mild punishment against individuals who have committed a dangerous crime.

I would like to draw your attention to some of the latest legislative acts passed by the Union Republics; one referring to criminal responsibility for accepting an illegal reward from citizens for service in the distributive network, public catering, municipal enterprises, health-care, transport or other public services; the other referred to criminal responsibility for selling goods from warehouses, supply depots or storerooms of shopping centres (organisations) or for withholding goods from the general public. Such often offences involve an infringement of the citizens' immediate interests and cause their legitimate indignation.

The hearing of civil cases figures prominently in the business of people's courts. The Constitution of the USSR has considerably extended the rights of Soviet citizens. The right to work, for instance, has been reformulated to comprise the right to choose one's trade or profession, and one's job. The right to housing has been extended. Notably, the Fundamental Housing Legislation, enacted last year, precludes the impounding of surplus housing; the valid reasons for the official eviction of citizens from the premises they occupy have been reduced; nor is there any permission, as a rule, for the eviction of citizens from factory or office-controlled houses without offering them alternative accommodation.

"The family enjoys the protection of the State," this provision has also been written into the Constitution for the first time, and this incontestably requires the courts to show extra attention to hearing divorce and alimony cases. Civil cases affect the vitally important rights and interests of citizens, and, therefore, the prospective judge must not only be well versed in law, but he must have proper life experience and wisdom if his hearing is to be careful and opportune, and the verdict correct.

People's courts carry on a large amount of educational work to prevent crime, and keep in close contact with the local Soviets of People's Deputies, and commissions dealing with juvenile delinquents, and provide legal aid and advice in methods to the courts of honour and voluntary public order squads; play their full part in legal propaganda and legal education, etc. That is to say that a people's judge is not only a highly qualified jurist, but a genuinely popular public figure with a wide range of powers and great responsibility to the people, to the electors.

Elections of people's assessors will be held throughout the nation in April-June 1982. People's assessors are elected for a term of two and a half years at meetings of citizens at their places of work or residence by a show of hands. Anyone who has reached the age of 25 by polling may be elected a people's assessor.

Altogether, upwards of 700 thousand people's assessors will be elected in the coming elections. So extensive a public involvement in the administration of justice is unchallengeable evidence that the Soviet court is an authentically people's court; this is an indication of the citizens' actual participation in the discharge of a major function of the State.

It is the persons who are, indeed, worldly-wise and capable of making a sizable contribution to the administration of justice that the people elect as assessors.

Preparations for this year's elections of people's judges are proceeding in a climate of great political activity of Soviet citizens, generated by the resolutions of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congress laid great emphasis on consolidating the foundations of the socialist way of life and moulding the new type of man. Besides, it called attention to the need for tough control of able-bodied idlers, bribery, blackmarketeering, and embezzlement of socialist property. The judiciary in general and the people's courts in particular have an important role to play in resolving these problems. Electors' meetings with their candidates and reports by earlier judges to them must be practised on a wide scale to this end.

Article 152 of the Constitution of the USSR reads: "Judges and people's assessors are responsible and accountable to their electors or the bodies that elected them." It must be said that there were over 104 thousand reports by people's judges and by most of the people's assessors to their constituencies in 1981 alone.

CSO: 1812/96

NATIONAL

PARTY RESOLUTION DEFENDS ART, LITERATURE ROLE

PM260901 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 20 Apr 82 pp 2-3

[Dr of Philological Sciences Prof An. Dremov article: "The Strength of our Unity"--words between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] Some 50 years ago, on 23 Apr 1932, an important event occurred in the history of socialist culture which was a major milestone on the path of Soviet literary and artistic development--the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee resolution "On the Restructuring of Literary-Artistic Organizations" was adopted.

The 1932 All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee resolution was a link in the system of party leadership of the artistic process which rounded off, so to speak, a series of party measures in the twenties. The ideas of this resolution were continued by many further party documents on problems of artistic creation. Closer to our day, the resolutions entitled "On Measures for the Further Development of Soviet Cinematography" (1972) and "On Work With Creative Youth" (1976) and CPSU Central Committee greetings to creative workers' congresses are also manifestations of the party's tireless concern and attention for society's spiritual life. Of particularly great significance is the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Ideological, Political and Education Work" (1979) which was described at the 26th CPSU Congress as a "long-term document."

From all that has been said it is clear that party leadership, in its inner sense, helped artists to understand the general laws of social development in greater depth and to shape their activity more successfully in accordance with them.

Thus, in the decades since V.I. Lenin's death, party leadership of art has been a continuous process marked at history's turning points by special resolutions.

An in-depth understanding of the national soil, national roots and character of our art has been the basis for the unity and continuity of the leadership of art for over half a century.

This profound popular nature (narodnost) of party activity is also displayed in the very essence and content of Leninist doctrine on the party-mindedness of literature and art as a whole.

As far back as 1905, V.I. Lenin, in his historic article "The Party Organization and Party Literature," made a resolute statement on the indispensability of party leadership of the artistic process and on the specific nature of that leadership compared with the political, administrative and so forth. Lenin later reaffirmed these major provisions.

Lenin was never bureaucratic, either in his theoretical works, in practical participation in the cultural revolution or in the resolution of specific questions of cultural work. He explained, propagandized, advised--in a word, he educated.

An example of this truly party-minded approach to art is provided by V.I. Lenin's attitude to M. Gorkiy. In his well-known letters to Gorkiy, Lenin, not deviating from a principled position, uncompromisingly indicates Gorkiy's errors, strives to help him overcome them and persuades him by facts from life itself. It was no coincidence that Gorkiy later remarked on the great historical correctness and sagacity of Lenin, who was able "to see the present from the future."

Art without fail must be /part/ of overall party work, but also a specific part. The creative worker's ideal is his guiding star, but ideals are always socially conditioned and are thus teachable. The party always strives to raise artists in a spirit of communist ideals. And, second, to create the very best moral and material situation for creativity. And when the first writers' congress was convened and an integrated writers' union organized in accordance with the April 1932 resolution, these were all forms of help, as Maksim Gorkiy directly stated. The same idea was also heard with full force in the 24th CPSU Congress speech by Mikhail Sholokhov, the great writer of modern times, in which he expressed the common opinion of those present and said that the Communist Party alone is capable of fulfilling the historic mission and of uniting the most diverse artists around a common aim, around the ideas of communism.

The party is even now developing the idea of the unification of the country's artistic forces, with the working class in the vanguard, and the Leninist traditions of cultural building.

In a period between the 24th and 25th CPSU congresses alone, a number of important party documents were adopted which relates to artistic work and are directed toward the further consolidation of creative forces, stepping up the activity of the artistic intelligentsia and deepening the vivifying process of enriching art with a knowledge of life and, on the other hand, giving the popular masses broader access to cultural values.

In a moral regard, too (and this is of paramount significance for art--the "Study of Mankind"--the working class is a yardstick for all people. In his "Reminiscences," L.I. Brezhnev gave a marvelous description of the working man in this regard: "He is a great toiler, he has inexhaustible patience, he

knows his job and is accustomed to doing it well. Even in czarist times, even under conditions of exploitation he was disgusted by bad workmanship, since he always valued skill and respected his own work. Virtually all the wealth accumulated by mankind has been created by the worker's sinewy hands, yet he himself is not attached to property, and his soul is not destroyed in money-grubbing scheming but is expansive and daring and displayed an eternal thirst for justice. He is resourceful, sharp-witted and endowed with a lively mind and sense of humor. He is resolute, bold, loyal to friends and ready at all times to help his comrades." It is thus quite right that "their (the working class'--A.D. note) revolutionary ideology and morality, collectivist psychology, interests and ideals are now the property of all strata of Soviet society." Thus an artistic culture is being formed today which is united in its social and national essence.

Literature and art have conquered new heights on the ideological basis of socialism and socialist realism. And as a whole through the decades, a rich, diverse art which has long received worldwide recognition has flourished in the Soviet land. The main point is that the great art of socialist realism was created which was born in the fire of the October Revolution and matured in the fight for a new life. Art is about the people and for the people, it combines the best traditions of mankind's entire artistic experience and innovatory communist principles. It carries out the behests of the classics about a truthful representation of life but carries them out on the basis of knowledge handed on by dialectical materialism.

Our present day art is a communistically truthful art capable of reflecting life in its revolutionary development. It is centered on the life of the people's masses and its main hero is the working man, the builder of communism. It is right that the party should view contemporary multinational artistic culture as a powerful factor for growth of Soviet people's spiritual life. "...The indisputable merit of our artistic figures, our /literature/ and /art/," the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th party congress stresses, "plies in the fact that Soviet society's spiritual life is becoming increasingly diverse and rich."

The report by L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and the speeches of a number of delegates called for the creation of images of the progressive person of our time. "The successes of creative writers in creating vivid models of our contemporaries are indisputable.... The party welcomes the characteristics of the best works--civic enthusiasm, irreconcilability to shortcomings, and art's active intervention in resolving the problems by which our society lives." And it was no coincidence that our party general secretary went on to name heroes such as the leader of a team of construction workers, a kolkhoz chairman, a railroad worker, an officer, a pilot and a major scientist: "...In each of them, readers and viewers find accord with their own ideas and experiences and see the embodiment of the Soviet character's best features." And overall, this list of positive heroes somehow symbolizes the strength, beauty and devotion to communism characteristic of the Soviet people--a worker people, a warrior people.

The work of the Seventh Soviet Writers' Congress, the Seventh USSR Architects' Congress, the 14th All-Russian Theatrical Society Congress, the Fourth USSR Cinematographers' Congress, the Fifth RSFSR Artists' Congress and the RSFSR Architects' Union Constituent Congress was done in the light of the 26th CPSU Congress' ideas. They firmly advocated deepening the heroic base and creating full-blooded images of positive heroes--the bearers of communist ideals--and art worthy of our time.

While noting Soviet artists' achievements in recent years, the party at the 26th congress also recalled shortcomings and the need for a more demanding attitude to the assessment of artistic figures' works. "It is important here to strive here, of course," Comrade L.I. Brezhnev said, "to ensure that the gray and squalid things in artistic terms are not hidden by the topicality of a theme.... On the other hand, manifestations of low ideological content, an unscrupulous world outlook or deviation from a clear class assessment of historical events and figures can harm the creativity even of gifted people."

Unfortunately, from time to time in artistic works of various genres we still encounter errors which attest to a confused world outlook, petty-mindedness, the replacement of true by false values, an uncritical attitude to bourgeois modernism, tolerance of petit-bourgeois, materialist tastes and a wish to denigrate the historic significance of revolutionary-democratic criticism.

The Communist Party called in the past for struggle against such positions, which are alien to Marxist-Leninist principles, and it continues to do so today.

The 23 April 1932 resolution is a vivid example of the prompt and fruitful resolution of an /organizational/ question which opened up vast potential for carrying out the declared fundamental tasks of communist education of the artistic intelligentsia and the creation of more favorable moral and material conditions for its activity. Of course, even ideological-educational work requires constant, well planned, highly expedient and improved organizational forms. The party exerts this influence through channels linking it to the mass of artists and via the creative unions, whose work is based on the broadest activeness and individual work by union members.

A dialectical approach is needed here as everywhere else. Party leadership is a combination of organizational-political and ideological-educational work. "The strength of party leadership lies in the ability to captivate the artist to pursue the noble task of serving the people and to make him a convinced and active participant in transforming society on communist principles," L.I. Brezhnev observed at the 24th CPSU Congress.

The 26th CPSU Congress decisions open up new prospects for increasing and enriching artistic culture and specific paths for further improving Soviet people's aesthetic education.

Now, as we are about to mark the passage of 50 years since the adoption of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee resolution

"On the Restructuring of Literary-Artistic Organizations," we realize with new force that all socialist realism's successes in opening a way of development for world art have been due to the fact that for over 50 years the artistic process has been wisely and clearly directed by the Communist Party.

In the article "Lenin and Literary Criticism," Lunacharskiy quoted the leader of the revolution: "...The point is to open the door to the kind of social system which can create beauty immeasurably surpassing anything that could even be dreamed about in the past." The guarantee of implementation of this great Lenin behest and the guarantee of future conquests for socialist art are provided by the unity of all Soviet multinational artists headed by the working class, harmoniously and monolithically united around the CPSU under the banner of Communist Party-mindedness and attachment to the people.

CSO: 1800/558

NATIONAL

BRIEF

AZERBAIJANI BROADCASTS--An important event has occurred in the cultural life of Dagestan--the first Azerbaijani language broadcasts have been heard on the republic radio. The Dagestan radio committee is now the only one in the country where republic news is broadcast in 11 languages. [By N. Karibov] [Text] [Baku VYSHKA in Russian 6 May 82 p 4]

CSO: 1800/583-P

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN DISSIDENTS CRITICIZED FOR INCIDENT IN MTSKHETA

Mtskheta MTSKHETA in Georgian 20 Oct 81 pp 2-4

[Article by Giorgi Mamulashvili: "Patience Has Its Limits, or: Hooligans in the Guise of 'Believers'"]

[Text] It is said that Mtskheta is Georgia's roots.

Indeed it is.

The city is mentioned in Georgian legends and sayings prior to our era.

But the main thing is:

Here was created the first Georgian alphabet.

Here was the cradle of the Iberian state.

Here the Georgian nation embraced Christianity, an unquestionably progressive event for its time.

The Dzhvari, Svetitskhoveli, and Shiomgvi me cathedrals were erected and made significant contributions to Georgian written learning, and to the nation's cultural treasure generally.

Time after time the evil of the day destroyed and devastated Mtskheta. But today our own time has lovingly undertaken to restore everything which the wisdom and the strong hands of the people created. Let us recall Konstantine Gamsakhurdia's words regarding Svetitskhoveli: "Abul Kasim the Saracen was the first to ravage it, defile it, make of it a stable for camels. The people restored it, and then Alf-Aslan the Seljuk plundered it. Again it was restored, and again Tamurlane destroyed it, and Shah Tamaz and Shah Abbas in their turn destroyed it repeatedly.

"And it came to pass, a century went by in sadness. Even in modern times no man took thought to repair the cathedral. It took Soviet rule--bless its power! --to have the cathedral's wall battlements repaired and its roof restored."

So many historical monuments have regained their former grandeur and been given new life; so many great things have been done in Mtskheta these past few years with the care and support of party and soviet organs, transforming this city of ancient history into a museum city.

Such is the beginning of a new life for Mtskheta.

It was decided to convert all monuments within the city to exhibits and to display in them the battle weapons, ceramics, and artifacts of the nation's daily life that are characteristic of the particular century in which the architectural monument was built.

There are three archeological expeditions doing work in Mtskheta now, meticulously seeking out the precious heritage which different generations of Mtskhetians have passed on to one another with special loving care.

On the basis of the materials discovered by these expeditions, open archeological exhibits have been set up in the Samtavro churchyard, Anton Mamulashvili's courtyard, the games arena in the railroad station's grounds, and in the village of Karsani.

Capital repairs have been done on Dzhvari, Samtavro, Zedazeni, and Svetitskhoveli. The Shiomgvi monastery complex has been restored and made even more beautiful.

The permanent exhibition of the Mtskheta Art and Historical Architecture Museum in the Svetitskhoveli courtyard has been enlarged and new exhibits added. And the recently discovered ancient city of Dzalisa is an example of the loving concern of today's generations for our monuments.

It is not exclusively a museum mood that prevails in Mtskheta, however.

The rayon's economy is growing stronger. New achievements are being accomplished every day by our farmers and our industrial collectives. From the vantage point of Dzhvari the eye is gladdened by the sight of new enterprises being erected on Mtskheta's outskirts. The working people's standard of living as well as medical and cultural services are rising steadily.

A people's university has been set up and is doing very interesting work.

That is the present.

Especially interesting is Mtskheta's future.

Prosperity and abundance will increase even more in the next five years. A House of Culture will be built, a secondary school, a museum building, a maternity hospital, a tourist hotel, a cableway, and numerous other projects.

These projects have been mapped out and given the force of law by decisions that have been taken with regard to further acceleration of the rayon's social-economic development.

Certainly it cannot all be accomplished with a wave of a hand, in one day, but what of that?

As in the case of any grand undertaking, this effort as well has oversights, problems, and issues that are difficult to resolve. But there is also an implacable, aggressive attitude toward these difficulties, and there is a great desire to ensure

more achievements in the economy, culture, the workers' standard of living, to make Mtskheta more beautiful and attractive, its workers' life more pleasant.

In short, there is new life in the old city.

That's the main thing.

It was perceived clearly by everyone who honored us by taking part in the third annual Mtskhetoba Festival on 11 October. It was truly a people's holiday, a gay celebration of diligent labor, abundant harvest, a happy mood, brotherhood and friendship.

Mtskhetoba was participated in by 70,000 people, the finest representatives of every part of Georgia, Tbilisi, and our own rayon--scientists, public figures in literature and the arts. Seventy thousand joyful people strolled through Mtskheta's streets, parks, and squares.

Our guests were gladdened by the prospering city, and we, their hosts, were doubly glad--though to be sure this "guest and host" relationship is somewhat provisional, for Mtskheta is the same for everyone, it is everyone's native city. Thanks to all those who love, cherish, and respect the city, who care about its history, its present, and its future.

Thanks to everyone--every party, soviet, and economic worker, our illustrious workers and kolkhozniks, intelligentsia, and proud young people.

Above, we mentioned our guests. What Georgian has never said, "Guests are of God"? What person does not rejoice on the day a guest comes to call? It is a Georgian custom to do without, in order to welcome a guest, to provide for him in every way. Even our folk song says it: "A welcome guest, a happy host."

Every one of those 70,000 guests at Mtskhetoba was welcome.

Unfortunately, we do not always get that kind of guests. There are certain wretched human beings who, as the saying goes, believe in nothing in this world. They enjoy all our country's benefits and yet act like ingrates. Our accomplishments make them furious, and they try to incite turmoil in our daily life.

That's what has forced me to speak my mind.

Last spring a group of chiefly young people came to town from Tbilisi. They disrupted our tranquility and offended not only us Mtskhetians but also numerous visitors from all over the republic and all parts of the USSR as well as foreign guests. Without any tact or courtesy whatsoever they barged into Svetitskhoveli Cathedral and caused an unpleasant disturbance and commotion under the pretext of church rituals. Had they wished to enter and pray, fine and good; but the fact is that this group was brought here not by a belief in something but rather by unbelief. What they wanted to do was turn the church grounds into a stage, an arena of insolence.

And they put on a shameful spectacle....

They brushed off all pleas to behave, nor did they pay any attention to the remonstrances of citizens and members of the clergy there.

In fact, they hurled insults and obscenities at one of the latter, for which, by all rights, some of them ought to have been thrown in jail. The main "heroes" of this scene were Zviad Gamsakhurdia and his young cohorts Tamar Chkheidze, Nana Kakabadze, Marine Koshkadze, Samson Ordzhonikidze, Giorgi Kervalishvili, Marine Bagdavadze, and others.

Certainly, as stated above, Mtskheta, like Tbilisi and all of Georgia, belongs to and is loved by all Georgians equally. But above all, Mtskheta is for the Mtskhetians to protect and take care of; it is primarily we who are the hosts.

But our uninvited guests acted as if these places were their own personal inheritance, and that they were doing the rest of us a big favor to let us be here.

It would have been funny if it weren't so sad!

But we didn't sound the alarm at the time.

After all, most of them are young people.

Taking that chiefly into account, we were patient.

Young people, after all, are like new wine--they seethe and bubble and sometimes overflow. Youth is a time of questing, searching for one's self and one's place in life. And in that search, mistakes will happen. Young people aren't always sure whom to believe, whom to follow. Not very frequently, to be sure, but occasionally, they fall into the vortex of confusion.

Well, what of that. Let them learn from their mistakes and never repeat them--that's what we thought then. We thought, They're just young, they lack judgment, their horizon is limited. Like wine, in time they will mellow. They are not, after all, alien to us; they are our flesh and blood; they will take their place by our side. To be sure, it would be wrong to allow young people to revert to childishness, to extend that childhood indefinitely and allow them to commit every folly. David the Rebuilder was only 15 when he ruled Georgia. As for the older ones who are leading these young people astray, commentary might seem superfluous. Even in their case, though, we had some hope. But what do you know!? Our hope was in vain. Last Wednesday they again "came to call." This time, of course--as in the first episode--there were only 20 to 25 of them (but why should there have been even one?). Apparently our courtesy the first time was perceived by them as fear, as indecisiveness. They acted as if to say, Here we are, like it or lump it!

They gathered in the Svetitskhoveli courtyard, blathered a bunch of nonsense, concocted some kind of document, acted arrogantly, strutted around, and acted as if they owned the place.

It was like an intruder who breaks into your home, pays no attention to you, the owner, helps himself to food and drink from your cupboard, enjoys a hearty repast, wrecks the place, harasses your wife and children, and then has the nerve to berate you for not treating him more hospitably.

What do you do in such a case?

It's hard to say. Probably, you try to settle things peaceably, you don't want to hurt the man....

Neither did our great poet Akaki Tsereteli allow his mortally offended protagonist to destroy the intruder Safar-Beg. But what if his approach doesn't work?

In Tsereteli's poem, of course, the intruder, graciously pardoned by his host, at least hurried to find his foster-father and confess.

We were not able to get rid of our uninvited guests in a peaceable manner.

Neither admonishment nor pleading worked.

"Don't mess with us and you won't get hurt," they warned, and followed it up with obscenities and provocative threats; they even kicked in an official car. Officers of the rayon militia were summoned to restore order, but these "pious" hooligans didn't listen to them either--in fact, they assaulted them physically and got so rowdy that it was necessary to call in officers of the Tbilisi militia to help.

People living next door to the cathedral were shocked: "They wouldn't obey the officers of the law," they reported, "they were very rude."

"They insulted us and swore at us, and physically assaulted us," said young officer Temur Badzhadze, "and for what? Just because we asked them to behave. Listen, I've been a student myself, I come from a good family. Would these guys treat their own brother that way? I guess that's all you can expect from their kind."

District Inspector Vano Labauri, deeply offended, was close to tears.

One officer's uniform was ripped.

"Why? Why?" said one white-bearded old man in dismay. "Why do you bother these good people? They have to chase rowdies like you, sometimes they lend a hand in getting in the grape harvest, and all you do is cause a public nuisance. Why? Why?"

"I know why," said a youth at the old man's side. "They don't have anything better to do, and idleness has spoiled them like colts left to run wild. Just let me take them on one at a time, I'll show them."

Fearing the boy might do something rash, the old man led him to the gate and said, "If it was up to me, sonny, I'd put this three-pound hoe into their hands and make them do a man's work, make them work so hard in the crops they wouldn't have time to raise their head, then we'd see if they felt like bothering folks, by God! What have they ever done for us?!"

It was the voice of the people speaking, the people's outrage and dismay.

Little children watched with eyes open wide, equally curious and eager for a show.

And what did they witness, these little ones, courtesy? Humility? Good behavior?

No--disorderliness and arrogance.

And for what? Who has the effrontery?

Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

The son of an illustrious father, and defamer of his name.

Why, Zviad?

What do you want, man, why don't you give it a rest? Haven't you had enough of senseless strutting? Why do you close your eyes to everything good that is being done by our people? Why do you think that you alone are the country's champion, that no one else has any thought for its future? Why do you think that what you and your cohorts are doing is right? Why do you lead young people astray?

We are the ones who decide our country's destiny--in the thousands and millions, we are its protector! Certainly, the millions are made up of individuals, but not isolates like you.

Why do you abuse our patience, the people's patience?

At least think of your father. How aptly that illustrious man put it: "Some men, like the animals, are wont to think that if you give way to them, if you treat them courteously, you are afraid."

Probably that's what you thought--that people were afraid of you, the little boy of a great father.

We are an upright people; we take a man at his word...just as we did when Zviad Gamsakhurdia went on television and said to millions of viewers: "I made a mistake, and I sincerely repent of my crime." And why not believe you? A man who walks our land, eats the bread we raised by our own hands, comes to see his own youthful foolishness and error and again takes his place at our side--the most natural thing in the world!

And oh, how we rejoiced at your "return"! With what affection and respect you wrote of the shepherders, their hard life and their toil! I'm referring to your essay that was printed in SOPLIS TSKHOVREBA [Rural Life] in 1979.

Now it appears you were playing the hypocrite.

Hypocrisy--the definition of it in the Academy Dictionary, as you probably know, is duplicity, bad faith, treachery.

You probably also know what fate awaits the traitor and the cheat at the gnarled hands of the working man.

He who betrays his own conscience can hardly be faithful to others.

Really, now, what is it you want, in your arrogance?

In all your pampered life you have never planted and nursed a seedling. How shameful it is, a man your age basking in the shade of the trees your father planted and idly entertaining a thousand silly thoughts.

Have we done you any wrong? We petted you. Did we harm you? We did everything for you: My dear boy, you're our guest, favor us with your presence! As an uninvited guest, don't you think you owe your hosts a bit more respect?

The Svetitskhoveli Cathedral was built by Konstantine Arsukidze, and in his book your father immortalized the Georgian workman's genius and legendary love of labor. Now you have disgraced both. How can you be so disrespectful toward the creation of others? Have you yourself done anything? If you have, let the people judge its worth.

Are we to believe now, like the Old Woman Tsenteradze, that all this vast land and its great cause have become the sole concern and object of protection of you and the unripe youngsters who jump at your command?

Alas, things don't go that way. You know that, far from attaining your father's greatness, you haven't even come close, and thus failing, you have chosen the role of pouter and mutterer. For the love of your father's soul, will you explain why you're sulking at us, what is it we owe you? What have you ever done, that you disdain what others have done? What were you thinking of, driving a car while drunk--for which, if you recall, no doubt, your driver's license was confiscated?

While on the subject of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, we would be wrong not to address ourselves to Academician Aleksandre Baramidze, director of the Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature.

Deeply Esteemed Aleksandre! Released early from his well-deserved punishment (he probably should have received more), Gamsakhurdia came to your institute and took a job alongside a well-regarded scholar. We assumed, of course, that the institute's distinguished collective, with its excellent traditions, would find serious scholarly work for this man who had gone astray, and would exert a particularly ennobling influence on him.

After all, scholarly endeavor consists of more than merely the writing of research.

We know how much toil goes into each book, and we are also aware that every book is written to enrich the nation's spiritual treasure. But does that give us the right to stand on the sidelines and just watch the show as, through our neglect, the man at our side is perishing and, what is worse, destroying others?

I consider this to be a tragedy. And I hesitate very much to say this to you, a distinguished scholar, but I seem to detect a definite lack of constraint. Forgive me for speaking so boldly, but in truth I cannot be patient any longer.

On the day of the incident Gamsakhurdia was accompanied by Tamar Chkheidze.

Tamar Chkheidze:

Has a college education, isn't working anywhere--I hesitate to use the word loafer, or deserter, but when each specialist costs so much to train, it is surely desertion to shun work.

Have you thought about that, Tamar?

Tamriko, my child, it is certainly a fine thing to dedicate yourself to the Georgian nation; every true human being is, above all, the child of his nation, and can grow to world citizenship only in his native soil.

Being a historian yourself, you surely know our country's past very well. And you are also surely aware that Georgian women of your age didn't use to spend all their time in the streets--they raised two, three, and even more children for their nation, their homeland; they proved their faith by deeds, not by blathering.

What is love good for, if it is nothing but a word on the tongue? All true patriots were thrilled by the rebirth of Udabno village in Sagaredzho Rayon--but not you: you didn't even show up for your work assignment in Sagaredzho, to make at least a small contribution to the community's education and revival. It seems your word is one thing, your deed quite another. Clearly, the word is more effective: people do listen to you. But deeds take hard, industrious toil and dedication. You people, pretending to be champions of the people, don't care for that at all.

Your actions, and the behavior of the few young women who have gone astray as you have, are certainly unbecoming to the demure yet proud modesty of Georgian womanhood!

Why are you wasting your womanhood, your energy, your knowledge? Why do you butt your head against the wall? Georgia has had so many worthy Tamars--what is wrong with you? Why do you shame your father's name? Why can't you be more like the noble heroines of his films?

I can sense that I'm letting too many questions pile up, and that it is not good to have so many question marks in one article. But the time has come, I'm convinced, when every question needs to be given a concrete answer.

My Esteemed Revaz, Esteemed Tina! The same rosebush puts forth blossoms and thorns, as the saying goes, but is that any excuse? You have also heard it said that you can carve either a spade or an oar from the same piece of wood--it all depends on what the master wishes to make.

How, in what manner, could you two raise a child like that--someone who masks herself as a believer (actually, a victim of superstition) but in practice believes in nothing? How is it that she received nothing from you besides your name? Why is there in her no trace of that faith which infused Giorgi Makharashvili with renewed strength as he read out his son's name, the faith of those brave lads who never returned from the war, the faith that caused the sweet waters to spring forth from the sun-parched plains of Vaio?

If she doesn't believe in her father, and has no respect for his views and ideas, how then can she profess to believe in anything or anyone? Does not the same faith oblige those in its bosom to "Honor thy father and thy mother"?

Is it necessary to be reminded that "first of all, we are parents; all else comes after...."?

How good it would be if you could be as proud of your child as you are of your films.

Please forgive me, my dear Revaz, but it is my deep respect for your creative works, my love for you, that compels me to speak this way.

Here I should like to address my questions to Tbilisi State University Rector Academician Vazha Okudzhava and party committee secretary Professor Guram Lortkipanidze--scholars and teachers in that cathedral of knowledge, purity, and science: How is it that the university awards a degree to someone who has neither mastered a single subject nor shown the slightest desire to work at the job assigned to her?

How did Tamriko Chkhaidze turn out that way? How can you award a degree to a young person who disdains to go more than a few steps away from Tbilisi, who refuses to take her assigned job, considers herself to be of the chosen elite, has pretensions of deciding the destiny of the nation, yet in reality will not work and prefers to live on the toil of others?

Aren't you interested in the activities of your graduates? Or in the fate of Marine Koshkadze, who had to be expelled in her fifth year and has yet to be guided back to the right path by her mentors? How did your fourth-year student Khatuna Dimitrovna Arabidze get involved in the incident described above? And why have other students done the same?

And I should like to ask Tbilisi's Lenin State Polytechnic Institute Rector Academician Teimuraz Loladze, party committee secretary Davit Dzhaparidze, and Komsomol committee secretary Avtandil Enukidze how it is that their students have the time to preach in the Svetitskhoveli courtyard during class hours? And what were Malkhaz Anzorovich Bezarashvili, Teimuraz Gaiozovich Gogua, Gela Ushangovich Mandzhavidze, Samson Davitovich Ordzhonikidze, Nodar Vazhevich Bulalauri, Kakha Giorgiyeovich Skhiereli, and Tengiz Giorgiyeovich Samkharadze doing "at church" in Mtskheta (actually, causing a ruckus) instead of attending classes?

Do you suppose this has happened other times besides the 14th of October?

What do their parents have to say about this?

We have seen Nana Revazovna Kakabadze in Mtskheta rather often, and not for the purpose other guests come here--to enjoy our historical monuments.

Can it be that cutting classes at the Polytechnic Institute has become commonplace? What is it you want, Nana Kakabadze, what's troubling you? How can you shame the institute, your family and your friends?

Kakabadze's father Revaz Iliyevich Kakabadze, it seems, is an expedition chief in the Geology Administration.

My Esteemed Revaz! You are engaged in prospecting for ore in the depths of the earth, and indeed you find it, for which much thanks. But have you ever taken the time to look into your daughter's heart, find out what she is interested in and who her friends are? What conclusions have you drawn? Are you, perhaps, proud of your very clever offspring?

My dear Natela! A geologist's life is hard, and so perhaps your husband is too pressed to keep track of your child's behavior. But I find it difficult to believe anything would escape your notice. Have you done anything about it?

You are a physician, and every day dozens of people look hopefully to you for help. What you need to do is find a cure for your daughter's illness. Think about it and hurry, before all is lost, before her wayward life demands of you a harsher accounting.

And I should like to ask Pushkin State Pedagogical Institute Rector Professor Natela Vasadze, party committee secretary Vazha Mandzhgaladze, and Georgian Philology Department Dean Docent Chola Tevzadze: What timely effort have you made to stop Irakli Sidamonovich Tsereteli and Kakha Guramovich Iashagashvili from wandering up to Mtskheta to "have some fun"? And how long is this going to go on?

To what do they attribute these students' "piety"? And if this is allowed, what creed will the future pedagogues impart to their pupils? Every true pedagogue, every teacher (in this institute, teacher of teachers) must be personally accountable in particular for his pupils' readiness to serve the homeland, their worthiness to be a son or daughter, parent, and citizen. Only after that do we concern ourselves with their knowledge, for knowledge in the hands of one without a creed can be more dangerous than valuable.

Oh, how it grieves me to say this, but the truth must be told. Parent and teacher--they alone must answer for having produced such youngsters.

I recall an episode from the life of an excellent Georgian teacher.

This esteemed person was invited to a reception in the city, but had to send his regrets: "I cannot attend, for I have suffered a great personal tragedy." Do you want to know what this personal tragedy was? A pupil of his had got into a street fight.

There, my esteemed pedagogues, you have an example of genuine personal responsibility, if you'll pardon me for saying so.

I cannot hide the bitter truth from Irakli Tsereteli's parents, Khatuna Aleksandrovna and Sidamon Irakliyevich. Everything indicates that they are not bringing up their son to be a fit member of society, worthy of the people's respect.

Parents who raise an unworthy son or daughter are like fruitless trees: they may put forth pretty blossoms in the springtime but they yield no crop in the fall. Well, he who sows the wind shall reap the hurricane.

I am always gratified to read news about the achievements of the multinational collective of the Tbilisi Dimitrov Aviation Plant. I'm glad and proud of the heroic valor of our aircraft builders, their exemplary dedication and high principles. But it is painful, truly painful to see one of their number, Zurab Patapovich Kokochashvili, mixed up with that bunch of no-goods. True, he was the only one from the plant, but that's not much consolation.

Don't get mixed up with them, Zurab, don't let their pretend "heroism" lead you astray.

A man is judged only by his own capabilities--actually, by how wisely he uses his potential, whether he dedicates his life to the country's cause.

As Ilia Chavchavadze put it,

You are worthy to be a man
If you practice this custom:
Ask yourself each day
"Have I done any good today?"

That's the truth!

Labor that is done for men's wellbeing is a sure attribute of dedication to one's friend--something your "friends" ought to keep in mind: Izolda Ushangiyevna Shushiashvili, an economist in the Society for the Blind; Gia Gervasovich Davitashvili, a laborer in the Rustavi Chemical Plant; and Lili Grigolevna Kikvidze, a technician in the Tbilisi Experimental Plant. All of them were involved in the desecration that day of Svetitskhoveli, a sacred place.

I should like to ask the officials of the above mentioned collectives whether they know the value of moral behavior, in general, and labor discipline, in particular--and what efforts they are making to strengthen it when their personnel are free to skip work any time they feel like it.

I should like to ask the teaching staffs of the Tbilisi Polytechnical Technicum and the Cultural and Educational School, also the leaders of the Komsomol organizations, just what effect their indoctrination work is having when their pupils Giorgi Aleksandrovich Kervalishvili and Natela Iosebovna Karauli come here to create a brawl and outrage all Mtskhethians....

I should like to ask the officials of the Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts and the Chavchavadze Institute of Foreign Languages to account for the waywardness of Natalia Petrovna Zukakishvili, a fifth-year French student going to night school and working temporarily in the Institute of Manuscripts (although there can be no justification for temporary work in that collective). And the same question might be asked of her parents Manon Platonovna and Petre Ivanovich.

"Nor is that man of worth who in life is as dead, who is of this world and cares nothing for it"--these words of Nikoloz Baratashvili come to me as I think of Marine Merabovna Bagdavadze, a 19-year-old girl who still shuns working, who hasn't done a kopeck's worth of anything and still thinks she's dedicating herself to a great cause.

This country, whose fate these people claim to cherish, was not built by wandering around, "no, neither by prayer, nor fasting, nor self-flagellation," as Tina and Tsira Vazhovna Nodia seem to think.

We are compelled to address ourselves to their parents:

Esteemed Rusudan!

You are a qualified specialist, but you prefer the easy life of a housewife to the tiring job of an economist. Perhaps it's a matter of health. I don't know, and it's not that important.

Nevertheless, you are certainly to blame for your daughters' waywardness.

You have brought them up badly, so that they choose idleness over honest labor!

We're also astonished at your husband, Vazha Aslanovich Nodia.

My dear Vazha! You're the only one working, supporting three who are unemployed--and women at that, who are no doubt carefree worshipers of capricious fashion.

How, by what means (perhaps you discovered a treasure back in 1977?) were you able to let both girls quit work and still provide them with the wherewithal for a rather soft life?

At this point I'd like to address the party organization at Gruziya-Film (where Vazha Nodia works) about a number of interesting matters to be looked into.

I should like to ask the relevant organs and organizations why they allow even one person to be idle and, in general, why they do not take a more principled stand in the above matter. Both society and the family ought to rally together to put a stop to that kind of insolence.

I have been compelled to do quite a lot of hard criticism with regard to family and upbringing, and there may be those who question the need for all this moralizing. Believe me, it's not just moralizing. Let us recall this passage from Akaki Tsereteli's "The Teacher":

...It is not you who are worthy of death
But I who deserve to die,
For failing to bring you up as a man.

In this article I want to address all collectives, schools, families, and individuals who have ever had anything to do with these youths.

Don't you agree that your silence has encouraged them to go astray and contributed to their failure to develop the faith for which your fathers, uncles, and brothers shed their blood? To reject that faith is to betray them.

And finally, as I share with you my sincere heartache, I should like also to say that sometimes we, the older generation, are more to blame (the episodes described in this article should convince us of that) than the younger generation, which has less experience.

I frequently hear that the above-listed "visitors" to Svetitskhoveli have been "aided and abetted," and not only "aided and abetted" but also egged on to childish follies, by certain others who themselves remain in the clear. But...their turn will come.

Epilogue:

I thought about this article for 2 or 3 days, and it pained and troubled me to write it. Then when I read what I had written, my pain and heartache increased. I was nearly tempted not to turn it in to the editor, but common sense won out: Someone has to say it!

It's not just the people of Mtskheta and Tbilisi who are saddened by what happened: people all over the republic are expressing shock and dismay. I have addressed my remarks here to many specific people, and I'm sorry, deeply sorry, to say that I could have extended the list. But if this article is printed it will take up a lot of space in our little newspaper as it is. I should like to conclude by asking, "How long do we have to put up with their ilk?" And I offer this answer: "It's time to put a stop to the effrontery of these ingrates."

As for our glorious traditions, they will go on. We will again celebrate Mtskhetoba many, many times, and we will welcome visitors from Tbilisi, all of Georgia, and the whole wide world with open arms and hearts.

Giorgi Mamulashvili, Mtskheta, 16 October 1981.

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RUSSIFICATION OF NON-RUSSIANS DENIED

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by A. Stepanov, doctor of historical sciences, professor: "A New Historical Community of People"]

[Excerpts] History knows various forms of the community of people: The family and tribe, the nationality and nation. The Soviet people is not a conglomeration of nations and nationalities, supposedly fused into "a single socialist nation of the Soviet-Russian type", about which the bourgeois falsifiers keep talking. This is a qualitatively new social and international community of people, which represents the unity of all classes, social groups, nations and nationalities in a single whole. This community is based on the indivisibility of the historical fortunes of peoples, on the far-reaching changes of both the material and spiritual order, and on the indestructible union of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. It is the result of the growing internationalization of economic and all social life, of the development in our country of socialist nations among whom relations of genuine equality have developed, of fraternal mutual assistance and cooperation, of respect and mutual trust. The main goal of the Soviet people is the construction of socialism.

On the way to this classless society, the leading and organizing role of the CPSU, the nucleus of the political system of socialism, acquires ever-growing significance. In terms of its composition, organizational principles, its ideology and the character of its activity, our party is internationalist. It promotes in every conceivable way the development of the objective processes of bringing the classes and social groups, the nations and nationalities closer together. Steadfastly following the Leninist policy, the party cements the spiritual life of the nations on the basis of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism and guarantees the harmonious unity of the national and international interests of the peoples of the USSR.

The leading force in the construction of the communist society is the working class. In terms of its economic situation, its ideology, psychology and morality, it was and remains the most consistent spokesman of international solidarity and the fraternity of the workers. It makes up the basic mass of the working people. At the present time, the workers in the USSR come to approximately 80 million, or two thirds of the population employed in the national economy of the country.

The most far-reaching changes in the social features, culture, and living conditions of the kolkhoz peasantry are organically connected with the realization of the Leninist national policy. Under socialism it has been transformed into a class of workers jointly conducting large-scale agricultural production on the basis of cooperative ownership and collective work.

Under the conditions of the developed socialist society the process of the bringing together of all classes and social groups is continuing. At the 26th CPSU Congress the in principle important conclusion was drawn that the classless structure of society will mainly and basically take place within the historical bounds of mature socialism.

The new historical society creates unprecedented conditions for the all-round cooperation and unity of action of the workers of the multi-national country. Close international relations and fraternal friendship clearly manifest themselves in socialist competition, which is by right a school of internationalism.

The life-giving circulation and integration of social values is an organic feature of the Soviet mode of life, a consequence of the destruction of "national partitions", and the affirmation of the norms and principles of socialist internationalism. The national pride of the Soviet man, the feeling of a united family--the new historical community of people--of the Soviet people is becoming stronger.

Everything beautiful that has been and is being created by the work of every Soviet people belongs to all and is defended by all. We do not have a notion of an "alien environment", and forever gone is the insulting word "alien" [inorodets]. Countless economic, spiritual and emotional bridges have been built between the Soviet nations. The peoples of the Land of the Soviets are filled with feelings of infinite gratitude to one another and especially to the great Russian people for the unselfish help in their common struggle for a happy life.

As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, "all of our achievements are the result of the enormous labor of the people, of the selfless efforts of the workers of all fraternal republics, who in their daily rounds decide truly historic matters and raise the country to new levels of progress.

The new historical community of people is broadening the possibilities for the spiritual and cultural development of all nations. From the culture of other peoples, every nation selects everything that is best, that is acceptable to it, and absorbs and transforms these best elements into a component part of its national culture.

Today the forms of cultural intercourse and cooperation among the peoples inhabiting the USSR are becoming ever more varied. The ten-day and week-long festivals of literature and art being regularly held in the republics, the festivals, exchanged exhibits of works of art, joint scientific sessions, the elaboration of scientific problems by joint efforts, and many other affairs promote the acceleration of the process of mutual enrichment and the bringing together of the national cultures.

But this the ideologists of anti-communism do not see, or more correctly, do not want to see. They try to demonstrate that the process of the internationalization of the spiritual life leads to the liquidation of ancient national values. They are persistently spreading the myth about the "Russification" (a term fashionable in the West!), about the "forcible thrusting of Russian culture on the peoples, especially the Central Asian peoples. In their opinion, the national culture of these peoples has been brought to a state of stagnation (depression, immobility), and the national traditions have been buried in "oblivion", the treasures of national culture, as it were, are "drowned in the sea of socialism and internationalism." The life and epochal accomplishments of the Soviet people, and the flourishing of our culture which is socialist in content in terms of the main direction of its development, but diverse in its national forms, flatly refute these fantasies of our ideological opponents, who are incapable of speaking about the USSR, to use the expression of V. I. Lenin, "without the tremor of fury."

With the birth of the great historical community of the people, new possibilities have opened up for the strengthening of the fraternal friendship of the peoples of the USSR. It is now cementing itself in the struggle for the fulfillment of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the program which it outlined for the further economic, social and spiritual development, and the perfection of our way of life. The Soviet people realize ever more deeply the power of joint work and the support of one another on a reliable shoulder in the name of the triumph of the ideals of communism.

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REGIONAL

BOGATYR' DIRECTOR ON MANAGEMENT METHODS

Alma-Ata PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN' KAZAKHSTANA in Russian No 2, Feb 82 pp 78-82

[Article by Greta Solov'yeva from Ekibastuz: "The Director; An Essay"]

[Text] In the morning we were standing with the deputy general director of the Ekibastuzugol' [Ekibastuz Coal] Association and winner of the USSR State Prize, Nikolay Mitrofanovich Belik, at the viewing platform of the Bogatyr' [Knight] pit. Below there lived and breathed an enormous dish of coal. Everything was magnificent and beautiful. The white rotary complexes moved slowly looking like ships. Railway cars full of coal ran about.

Belik was talking not indifferently but as if to force us to both be angry and rejoice with him.

"The Bogatyr' now produces 50 million tons of coal a year and the Central Mine some 22 million. Our quota for the association is in the next few years to bring output up to 170 million. In some sense, it is right to speak about the ease of strip mining as long as you are on the edge. But at the center of the mine the depth is already up to 500 m. We have done a great deal but we still can't keep up in every way just as it is impossible to keep pants on a rapidly growing boy as they are always too short.

"Take the rotary excavators. They are high-powered modern equipment. The 5,000's are those which produce 5,000 tons per hour. There are just three of them in the nation and two are here. The rotary excavators generally were initially developed just for brown coals and friable rock. Academicians and knowledgeable persons asserted that when blasting started rotary equipment would have to end. We did not believe them. For the first time in the USSR we conducted an experiment and employed rotary equipment on hard coals. For this we received the State Prize.

"This is how things have gone in Ekibastuz and I am everywhere surrounded by dedicated persons who are morally attractive, talented, dedicated and loyal to the cause."

The first secretary of the party gorkom, Gennadiy Alekseyevich Nikiforov, spoke about the city, its present and future:

"The average age of a person in Ekibastuz is 27. One out of every 4 has a secondary and higher education. They request to come to us and we can be selective. But the question turns upon apartments. Yes, Ekibastuz needs help from the other cities. Certainly we should grow and we will build cement, crushed rock and aluminum plants. We have all the raw materials for this. We have housing construction and woodworking combines and we will put up apartment blocks."

Sometimes when asked how to reach the center, they reply: "Everywhere is the center here."

The chief meeting was with the director of the Bogatyr' Mine, Vyacheslav Valer'yanovich Kalandarishvili. Of him it can be said that he truly knows how to live, he has taken an activist position in life, he is able to see the main thing in life and to focus his will and inner strength on this most important thing, without which life pales, leaving only bitterness and pain. Of him it can be said that he is a business-like person, energetic and assertive, with a broad and vast manner of thinking. With him one must speak on the question of "to be a man."

He dreamed of becoming a sea-faring captain. There were the blue expanses of the sea, the salty wind and the romance of unknown cities. And in fact he became a captain, but only of a sea of coal, the Bogatyr' Mine. He was born in Uryupinsk, in Sholokhov land. As a boy he was quick, decisive and bold. He was only sad when the physicians from the Murmansk Navigation School rejected him.... He had to give up the sea, and his health had to be strengthened. He thought of entering a mining institute.

After completing the Sverdlovsk Institute, he wrote to Ekibastuz knowing that this deposit was the most promising. He worked as the section chief initially at the Western Mine and then at Bogatyr'. From 1976 he has been the director of the world's largest open pit coal mine.

"Was there experience in developing such an enormous coal mine?" I asked.

"Such experience exists nowhere else. We did it by ourselves. It was the first attempt. In West Germany there are large basins but the problems there are completely different as the coal is brown coal, much softer and one does not need to resort to blasting. We have hard coal and blasting must be done and everything is new, completely new. Excavators from the GDR, the 1,000's, first began to operate where? In the USSR, at the Bogatyr' Mine. Then there were the 3,000's and then the Soviet-produced 5,000's also used here. It is an unique enterprise. We will set the example and our experience will be adopted."

Everything is new.... And this means to be primarily a participant in social creativity, this means it is essential to pose and solve new problems and tasks, to live not by pat solutions but rather by untrod ones involving risk and the danger of making a mistake. Man himself only grows in such creative effort. There is the new equipment, the new organization of labor and most importantly the new attitudes toward work and toward one another.

"We are always on the search. Scientists can sketch everything out on maps. But I am speaking about the very management of such an enterprise. How can it be rationally managed? Then everything was done following the measures of the earlier mines.

But there still were no standards, rules or recommendations. For example, take a small mine which produces just 2 or 3 million tons of coal a year. At both mines there is a section chief but how can one compare the difference in the work load?

"Bogatyr' can operate at such a pace for 2 or 3 years. If we do not think about the future, Bogatyr' will turn into a baby. We have just finished construction and now we must begin reconstruction as by 1990 we should produce up to 70 million tons. For the sake of comparison I might mention that France produces 50 million tons and is among the leading ten coal powers of the world."

"The paradox is," continued Kalandarishvili, "that Bogatyr' even with such output is not an independent enterprise but part of an association. Is this really just?"

"But then centralization would be disrupted."

"Even if we were separated we would be the largest association. Although now in the administration there are intelligent knowledgeable specialists, they cannot cover everything."

"What happens is duplication?"

"Not duplication but rather confusion and surplus phone calls."

He was thinking how to increase labor discipline. A question the importance of which was strongly emphasized at the 26th CPSU Congress.

"It is essential to work out a precise procedure of measures and the responsibility of each man for his attitude for society. If Kalandarishvili commits a mistake he is told that in our society he would be deprived of certain goods. I am all in favor of putting demands on people."

"A graduate of a GPTU [state vocational-technical school] or technical school comes to us. Things should be so organized that he starts as a mechanic assembling units, repairing them, in a word, improving his skills. Once he has proven himself his category is raised. Having reached a mechanic of the highest category, by a decision of the administration he is shifted to assistant operator on an excavator. Now what? He immediately becomes an assistant operator, just one category less than a worker who has worked 20-25 years. He has not earned this job and this spoils him.

"Or an engineer from an institute comes to me. I make him a mechanic. His wage spread is 200-207 rubles and virtually no bonuses. But why not make the spread 150-250 rubles? Then he would be interested. Six months later, the fellow gets more. He sees that he has been noticed. Then come rationalization proposals and technical creativity. I give him 250. He is no specialist but rather solid gold. He will remain his entire life at the enterprise and will produce more.

"It is essential to indoctrinate with work. Ancillary work will not disappear even under communism. Jobs which no one wants to do will remain. Those who do not behave properly toward society must be indoctrinated with work which are not interesting for them. Why not force the loafers who also exist in our Ekibastuz to clean

and pick up the city? And we should not feed them as we feed a person who works well.

"I feel that it is essential to be thrifty and economic in everything. Now once a week the engineers pick up brooms and shovels and clean up the city. But is this not a mistake by society in not valuing the time of the engineers? Why not do it this way? I am the director of the mine. I live on the third floor in a certain building. Once every 10 days, my family is instructed to clean up in front of our entrance. And I clean it up. Who would do all of this for us?"

I was impressed by the fact that Vyacheslav Valer'yanovich had a perfectly clear understanding that the main thing in moral indoctrination is not merely a knowledge of what is good and what is bad but rather an inner strength and ability to follow this good and reject evil. Kalandarishvili was one of those persons who had this inner force, character and will power. At first it even seemed to me that he was a strong-willed leader who endeavored, like a conductor, to impose his will on an orchestra more than 1,000-strong.

"When I was a section chief, I could do everything. But I put in up to 20 hours a day. But later it became easier. My deputies understood that there would be no compromise as did the foremen and operators."

"What were your principles for leading the collective? You said there would be no compromise."

"You did not quite understand me. All activities--both production and social--should be truly focused in the director, the party committee and the Komsomol committee. But I am a supporter of a strict delimitation of duties among co-workers and strictest responsibility."

"You give each person an opportunity to feel his responsibility?"

"Of course. I virtually never intervene into the activities of my production deputy. Never."

"How can you never intervene if you are the director?"

"We discuss things beforehand. In the morning we agree on everything. That is a different conversation. But if he has planned everything, if in the course of things he takes certain decisions, that is his concern. He can do this better than I. He is on the spot and he knows the present situation better than I do. For me the main thing is living conditions. In the city and on the job."

"Why living conditions? Certainly not coal, not the plan?"

"I feel that for a director the main thing is living conditions."

"That is a first for me."

"If there are good living conditions then there will be coal. It is essential that people be looked after. If there is warm water in the shower, if they are promptly

fed, if there are creches and nurseries, then there will be coal. But if a person arrives tired or overexcited, what happens with the coal.... Our excavators have refrigerators and air conditioners. Look at our railroad stations. Not every housewife can create such comfort in her apartment. I have a chief engineer. His job is technical policy and future planning."

"Who are your most dependable, energetic and thinking people? You will now say they are all good."

"No, I would never say that. There are no ideal people. That is only when you celebrate an important date. I myself am not completely good. I know my shortcomings."

"What are they?"

"I have many. At times I may be hot-headed. I have had my failures. Then I do not have enough technical knowledge and I clearly feel this myself."

"You have mentioned dependable people. We have a group involved in signaling, centralization and communications. The work there is painstaking and requires high skills. This collective was headed previously by an intelligent specialist. But he liked to drink. The section was in a mess and there was no effective work."

"We looked around and appointed Vladimir Maksimovich Yakimov as he could bring people together and in 4 years created a group which could solve problems on an institute level. He was able to train another three such groups. The section set up all the [railroad] stations newly built over this time at the Bogatyr' Mine. And on a level of the Mark of Quality. This man loves independence. Precisely independence. And we have given him this right. The work is specialized and a nonspecialist virtually cannot command him. He needs a basic mission. The goal is set for him but no suggestions."

"The chief of the contact grid Anatoliy Grigor'yevich Gerets has the same character. He needs a goal, the means to achieve it and independence. And support. But he does not need outside professional knowledge."

"Do you know what a master of his job is? A master does not like it when suggestions are made. They have not failed us once. You say will power is essential...."

"Will power is not just shouting. That you have realized how to work with people is also a manifestation of your will power."

"But a unique manifestation. We find a joint decision which is to the liking of all of us and, naturally, also for production and the state."

"The 5,000 of Yuriy Alekseyevich Shishlov works excellently. It was the first such machine in the nation. The Komsomol-youth collective achieved outstanding results and set a national record. The brigade leader has high technical knowledge, firmness and the ability to get them to work against any objections. But the collective is impelled not only by him. This is also an achievement of the chief of the complex, Gennadiy Stepanovich Moskalev. He is humble and knows how to get things done not by shouting but rather by talking and by the pangs of conscience."

"Each leader, like every mother, has his favorite child. For me, this is the brigade leader Sergey Ivanovich Zubko. And the others know this. Although I am absolutely objective and never help him. I know that Zubko will handle it himself. In speaking at meetings, I mention the names, and from the rostrum, of the future equipment operator Leont'yev (he is now working at another mine) and Zubko. They are workers. Everyone should be like them. They do not wait for suggestions. They see what they can do and do it. They do not require an order, nothing. Even if they are not paid they will do it. They are constantly thinking creatively. They know better than the chief where the excavator will operate tomorrow. They are thinking, intelligent, honest and principled workers.

"Zubko gets along well with the people. He organized the brigade in 1973 and not a single person has left it. The excavator operates very dependably. The brigade always fulfills the plan stably. If Zubko is not there, the brigade still works steadily.

"Last year, I conducted an experiment. Things were going bad at the enormous repair shop and in readying it for winter. The chief clearly could not handle it. I sent him on leave and asked Zubko to take over. He shook everything up. He re-did all the heating. And the workers said that if they had had such a chief, things would have been better.... They still remember how he took charge."

"Why did you not leave him there?"

"We try to assign chiefs who have a higher education and not a secondary technical one. Later on, we found a good one. Zubko is more needed on the excavator. He is our winner of the Orders of Glory, First and Second degrees."

The director spoke so much about the brigade leader Zubko that I immediately wanted to meet him.

I went. It turned out that the statements that the operators of the rotary complexes worked in white shirts were an exaggeration. I was supplied with overalls and a helmet as what sort of mine could it be without coal dust?

A person first visiting the Bogatyr' Mine is captivated by a surprising feeling of contact with a great, true cause and with people who know how to work finely and have a firm knowledge of for what they are living in this world. We become accustomed to our job, to the collective and to our way of life. But all of a sudden there is such a vivid and pleasant discovery: there is a different world, a different life where every hour, every minute and second is precious and significant. Where people mine not only coal but also confirm their intrinsic merit and their right to self-respect.

A rotary complex is a modern mine. But you don't go down, under the ground. You have to climb a catwalk to the skies, almost to the height of a 12-story building. There is blue sky and coal shining in the sun. In the office of the operator Ivan Andreyevich Neverov it is clean and light. He controls the gigantic rotor; in turning quickly the wheel gnaws into the black vein filling the buckets with coal. It takes just several minutes for another loader operator to fill 15 railroad cars. It is an amazing speed.

You look at the work of modern miners and think: here it is, the scientific and technical revolution in action, here is the new type of worker. All the operators of the rotary complex are graduates of a mining technical school, educated and technically intelligent people. Constant contact with modern equipment gives them a special significance and self-confidence. And a new vision of the world. In their hands is powerful equipment which obeys their knowledge and will.

I talked with Sergey Ivanovich Zubko and with the workers Viktor Petrovich Levikov, Aleksandr Kas'yanovich Lovodyuk and Anatoliy Nikolayevich Kalegov.

"What for you is the most valuable thing in the brigade?"

"Honesty in our dealings."

Zubko himself was born and grew up in an Ukrainian village. Later on, there was work at a factory and the army. After the army came Ekibastuz. He completed a mining technical school. He was assigned to the assembly area of the Bogatyr' Mine. He assembled one rotor. After the second, a 3,000, he left for the mine and remained there as a brigade leader.

"Assembly means a knowledge of the machine," said Zubko. "And at the same time it is knowledge of oneself. Here the entire collective sees one's attitude toward the job. The men become acquainted with and learn about both the machine and one another and come to understand who can do what. At that time we had two men, assistant operators, who did not like our ways of doing things. They did not like strictness. If I said to do something one way, that was how it was to be done. If you can prove that it is better some other way then prove it. If you can't then do it as I say. The fellows in my brigade know this. There is strictness but no orders. So the two left. Since then almost 10 years have passed. No one has left the brigade. Except if you don't count the army. Oh yes, Viktor Grigor'yevich Sakharov left to become a brigade leader. It is not so easy to get in my brigade and many want to. We ourselves find replacements by working in a school, in a GPTU and we recruit the fellows.

"What can I say about our men? Neverov is the operator. He works well. Very well. There is operator Mayorov. He is young and energetic and knows how to do everything with his own hands. If you give him a certain assembly, he will not sleep for nights, he will sit there drawing and sketching. But he will figure it out. Fairly often the most difficult assembly is given him. There is both character and a spirit for work. Not much else is needed. You do a little but not in order to redo something. Rather so that no one could claim that it could be done better here. When you finish your quota or 50 percent above, you go home tired but happy."

"What was your most difficult day?"

"For some reason I feel that every day is difficult for me. It is a difficult moment when the plan is not fulfilled. You feel that you can fulfill it but do not."

"Have you known the director long?"

"We became acquainted when he was the section chief. He can be very gay and kind. At the same time he is very strict and abrupt. But just. He knows everything: what should be where and how. You simply have to learn from such people."

"Do you love Ekibastuz?"

"I have been here 20 years. My family is here. A wife, Valentina Aleksandrovna, is a teacher and we have four sons. There is my work and the brigade. In a word, my entire life. When you come back to Ekibastuz after you are on leave you feel this is home. And it is truly a home. It will be a city. The mines are growing. My son Serezha has entered second grade...."

At the Bogatyr', our philosophical musings of just what a man should be took on a real, specific content. I saw these people, I spoke with them and they shone with an energy and joyous perception of life. Creative activeness, social responsibility, innovative thinking and civil maturity--here one comes to understand that these are not just noble-sounding words.

But doesn't this person still appear somewhat one-sided or one-dimensional? We are trying certainly to develop a form of intercourse and to improve moral relationships. I was convinced that at Bogatyr', they are well aware that free time was not merely idle leisure devoted to a senseless hobby. It was rather a change in life activity and an opportunity for personal growth and contact with others.

Kalandarishvili was once sent on a trip to the GDR. He was pleased that in each small town like Ekibastuz there were gymnasiums, swimming pools and tennis clubs. Not only the outstanding athletes were esteemed but also the enterprise champions. For the pensioners there were special cafes with billiards and knitting. Here you could sit quietly, discuss your problems and recall the past.

At present Bogatyr' is doing a great deal so that free time is not wasted over a mug of beer.

"Do you know why we have the lowest personnel turnover of all the city's enterprises?" asked Kalandarishvili. "We have the only Vityaz' ensemble in the town. We are in second place in the oblast. Both the party committee and Komsomol committee--we all support them strongly. The instruments have come from Alma-Ata. We make the costumes ourselves. We have strong football and volleyball teams. We have a hockey team which represents the town.

"Seven years ago we studied a system of dried up lakes some 60 km from here. We built a 14-km canal from the Irtysh and revived a lake. Now it is simply enormous. With reeds and ducks. Now there is carp and perch there. We have built a hunter and fisherman hut. Now families can stay. Each year I spend my last days of vacation there. It is quiet, with boats, fishing tackle and lots of fish and fresh air which you will find nowhere else. It is not a lake but a miracle.

"Now we are building a sports and cultural center of the Bogatyr' Mine at the seventh sponsored school. For the children we have made an excellent technical creativity lab, a shooting range and a modern gymnasium. We are planning to build for our workers swimming pools, a tennis court, rooms for boxing, chess and billiards. All of this is at our own expense.

"On the territory of our mine there are two hothouses. They grow roses and vegetables year-round. We have laid out a small nursery a kilometer from here. We are planning to further reduce the cost of meals. In the spring we plant cucumbers and tomatoes and all of this is free to add to the table.

"Just look at the area around the mine. It is green, with spruces, everything is trimmed and the flowers are the prettiest. And work orders? When you enter you can immediately feel what sort of chief and what sort of collective are to be found here. It is clean and tidy although the people wear oil-smeared clothing."

Kalandarishvili spoke not only about the successes and production achievements. Not only about the labor enthusiasm of his collective. He also wondered about those negative phenomena in our life which are all the more repulsive to us and which we without fail must overcome: consumerism, avarice and protectionism.

"In recent years, particularly over the last 5 or 6, I have felt a certain greediness in people a desire for gain. Many have summer houses. If they grow potatoes and raspberries then let them sell this. It is a good place to raise children. What weddings they have. The mother has ensured the daughter's wedding. And the grandmother and grandfather. They buy her a car, furniture and a summer house. Without knowing any difficulties the young people begin to live only for consuming. And a week later they split apart. Certainly difficulties make a family strong. There must be definite obligations to one another."

Certainly is this not a state approach to the question when the director of a very large enterprise whose "mind is overburdened with production details," realizes that for us at present the main thing is not coal but rather man, his conscience, dignity and honor? And he not only thinks about this but himself does everything within his power to indoctrinate such people today without waiting for the distant future.

"Just how do you imagine the ideal man for whom we should work?"

"For me, Marx is the ideal. I have read a good deal about his life. The books by Serebryakova as well as his own works. But he is an unattainable perfection."

Certainly for each of us it is very important to love the city in which we live, to be interested in its traditions, mores and way of life and to remember all of this. And that sole street of childhood which at one time struck us with its humble beauty.

"People are doing amazing things in Ekibastuz. But people who come here say: the city is certainly not luxurious. Isn't that insulting?"

"It is. But now knowledgeable specialists are at work at full force and in 5 years you will not recognize the place...."

He already sees Ekibastuz as different. He looks at it as one infatuated.

Our long talk was interrupted.

"The commission from the sanitation and epidemiological station? I won't sprinkle. Let them see just what the dust and dirt are."

A frowning young man came in for a signature for dismissal papers.

"Did you think it over?"

"I have already made up my mind...."

I later asked what was the problem.

It turned out that he had not passed the examination for assistant operator. And there were also family problems and divorce.

"You know him?"

"I certainly do. I know all 1,300 people by name, patronymic and by face. What is so unusual about that? It is essential."

We said farewell to the Bogatyr' Mine. At the last moment we saw an "express leaflet." "We congratulate excavator operator Vasilenko on his Order of Lenin and Kalandarishvili on his Order of the Badge of Honor!"

...Courageous people live in Ekibastuz. They work as if every day they regretted leaving their job. They think in a state and party manner. They do not fear responsibility and risk. They subordinate the circumstances to their stubborn will. They are designing and constructing a life.

The gorkom secretary Nikiforov, the deputy general director of the Ekibastuzugol' Association Belik, the director of Bogatyr', Kalandarishvili, the brigade leader Neverov.... They are persons with an activist position in life....

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REGIONAL

BOOK ON MINORITIES IN KIRGHIZIYA REVIEWED

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 13 Apr 82 p 3

[Review of book "Deyatel'nost' Partorganizatsiy Kirgizii Po Povysheniyu Kachestva i Effektivonosti Ideologicheskoy Raboty" [The Work of the Party Organizations of Kirghiziya to Improve the Quality and Effectiveness of Ideological Work] by K. Kulmatov, "Kyrgyzstan," Frunze, 1981]

[Text] The representatives of more than 80 nationalities and peoples live and work together in the Kirghiz SSR as a harmonious family. According to the data of the 1979 census, of the republic's population of 3.5 million, 1.7 million are Kirghiz, more than 900,000 are Russians, around 110,000 are Ukrainians, and more than 420,000 are Uzbeks. Kirghiziya also has living in it Kazakhs, Tajiks, Dungans, Germans, Tatars, Uygurs, Azerbaijanians, Koreans, Kurds, Jews, Belorussians, Mordvinians, and the representatives of other nationalities. All of them enjoy equal rights. The composition of the republic party organization is multinational. Whereas during the year of its creation it consisted of the representatives of 13 nationalities, as of 1 January 1981 it brought together the representatives of 70 nationalities.

In Kirghizstan, as in the whole of our country, a high value is placed upon the selfless labor of a person of any nationality. Of the 267 Heroes of Socialist Labor, 147 Kirghiz, 72 Russians, 42 Uzbeks, and 6 representatives of other nationalities have been granted this high title in the republic. Many thousands of advanced workers from the most diverse nationalities have been granted orders and medals of the Soviet Union. Of the 12,144 people awarded orders and medals of the USSR during the 10th Five-Year Plan and on the basis of its results, 5,720 are Kirghiz, 4,709 Russians, 819 Uzbeks, 277 Germans, 160 Tatars, 71 Kazakhs, and 388 are the representatives of other nationalities. The representatives of 40 nationalities are among those who have been awarded Honorary Certificates and Certificates of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirghiz USSR during the 10th Five-Year Plan.

This information is taken from the book by K. Kulmatov, a secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya. In it there is a generalization of the interesting experience of the ideological work of the republic's party organizations, and a great deal of attention is devoted to a generalization and revelation of the valuable experience of the patriotic and international education of the workers. As is emphasized by the author, the international and patriotic

education which is carried out by the party organizations of Kirghiziya embraces the sphere of material production and political and spiritual life. "Its chief directions are:

--the formation among the republic's workers, regardless of their nationality, of a profoundly conscious devotion to communism and to the policies of the communist party;

--the cultivation in the workers of a love for their socialist fatherland--the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,--and for the Soviet people, and a feeling of pride in its great role in the fate of all mankind;

--an explanation of the content of the international and patriotic duty of the republic's workers who are making their contribution to the common cause of the construction of communism;

--a further strengthening of the friendship and solidarity of the multinational population of the republic into a single fraternal family;

--a struggle against nationalistic survivals, national insularity, and against obsolete harmful customs and traditions;

--the unmasking of the ideological diversions of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism which are designed to undermine the friendship of peoples."

The triumph of the party's Leninist nationalities policy, and our successes in socialist and communist construction, that is, our socialist reality itself, provide a mass of very rich and persuasive material for the international patriotic education of the workers.

Great October gave the peoples of multinational Russia the right to determine their fate themselves, to create and develop their statehood, economies, cultures, and their own national languages. The workers of the national outlying districts which were backward in the past, including Kirghiziya, have acquired broad access to the treasures of native and world culture, to the achievements of scientific and technological progress, and to active participation in the management of affairs and of the state.

The book by K. Kulmatov is a useful aid for the ideological aktiv.

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